

A MEMORIAL

Deliver'd to One of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, by His Excellency the Baron de Bothmar, Envoy Extraordinary from His Electoral Highness of Hanover.



IS ELECTORAL Highness of Brunswick Lunenburg having sent back his underwritten Minister of State, and of his privy-Council, the Baron de Bothmar to the Court of Great BRITAIN, has

principally ordered him most humbly to thank her Majesty for the Honour she has done him in communicating to him what has lately pass'd touching the Negotiation of Peace, by a Person of such Distinction and Trust as the Earl Rivers, and for the new proof of the Honour of her Friendship, which on this Occasion she has been pleas'd to give him and his most serene Family by her generous Cares for its Interests.

His Electoral Highness refers himself particularly to the Sentiments which he declared to my Lord Rivers, and to the Answer which he caus'd to be given to him in Writing on his Propositions. He thinks he should be wanting to the Respect due to the Confidence with which her Majesty has honoured him, if he should not answer it with that Sincerity which she has Reason to expect from Her most true and most zealous Servant and Friend, who is more concern'd for Her Glory and Interest than any Person in the World. He hopes her Majesty will do him the Honour to accept in that Sense, and in that Intention, as well what he has taken the Liberty to cause to be Reported to Her of his Sentiments by the abovesaid Lord Rivers, as what he has order'd his underwritten Minister to represent further to her Majesty's Ministers.

The Sentiments of his Electoral Highness on the Peace, and on its Negotiation, are, That the Allies have Need not only of positive Declarations, but likewise of real Securities, especially having to do with an Enemy whose Methods of Acting are well known. This the former Preliminaries provided for, by obliging France to give up previously some Places of Security. In these there is neither any real Security, nor any clear and distinct Declaration. All is cou'd in indefinite General Terms, which in Reality express nothing, and upon which Tears might be spent in Negotiating. 'Tis left to be Considered, which is the surest Way to put a Speedy End to the War; whether by previously insisting on such Conditions from France that nothing may remain to be done in a general Assembly, but to give them the Form of a Treaty, or to open that Assembly upon Articles that are capacious and obscure, which leave an Open Field for France to put in Practice her usual Intrigues and Chicanes.

Nothing but a perfect Union between the Allies while the General Peace shall be Treating, and

the Mutual Guarantie they shall give each other upon what shall therein be concluded, can secure them for the Future. Without this, all Europe will fall into Confusion, and sooner or later into Slavery; especially if Spain and the Indies be left in the Possession of a Prince of the House of Bourbon. We cannot flatter our selves, that after a Peace concluded even in this Manner, Great-Britain can be in Safety, and maintain it self in a quiet and flourishing Condition, unless it continue with the States General and the other Allies in an Union that may defend all of them together against the Enterprizes of France. All their Forces United have hardly been sufficient to save them; whence it may be judg'd what would happen if that Crown should have the Fortune to Divide them, and what it would be able to put in Execution after having taken Breath some Years, and reinforc'd it self by Spain, and by the Riches of the Indies. 'Tis not doubted therefore, that her Britannick Majesty proposes to Act in this whole Affair joyntly and in concert with her Allies, conformably to the Assurances which She has given them. But to banish all Distrust, it would be necessary that there should be no Negotiation which might give ground for Suspicion, that one or other of the Allies might make their own Treaty separately.

All the Allies will gladly concur to conclude the Peace, provided they may have their Security in it; there not being any One among them who is not weary of the Expence and Inconveniences of the War, or would be willing to continue it when it shall cease to be Necessary. Further, Not One of them but would take Pleasure to Contribute with all his Power to obtain for Great Britain such Conditions and Advantages as it can demand from France. His Electoral Highness in particular, will take it on him as a Duty to employ all the Means conducing thereto which can be desired of him: Nothing in Nature being more Just, after the many great Things which her Britannick Majesty has done, with her Triumphant Nation, for the common Cause from the Beginning of her Glorious Reign. And this Way appears to his Electoral Highness to be more sure for procuring this End, and for preserving such Advantages, than if Great Britain should endeavour it without the Concurrence of the Allies, by a separate Negotiation. Nor could any thing be more Advantageous to France, than if by her Dexterity she could dazzle the Eyes of one of the Maritime Powers, so as to induce such Power to accept of some Advantages so much to the Prejudice of the other, that the Jealousie thence arising might become an Obstacle to their Union for the future, which Union constituting their reciprocal Security, is look'd upon by France as the grand Hindrance of its vast Designs.

His Electoral Highness can answer for it, That the Imperial Court never formed the Design imputed to them of entring with France into a Secret Negotiation to the Prejudice of the Interests of Great Britain: But for removing all Cause of Umbrage on that Account, as well with respect

to the Emperor, as to the States General of the United Provinces, new Engagements may be enter'd into with those two Potentates, and it may be firmly depended on, that they will make no Difficulty to promise the Queen in the most binding and most solemn Manner, never to Enter into any Negotiation with the common Enemy, nor ever to receive any Offer or Proposition from him, without Her Majesty's Participation, and without taking common Measures in Concert with Her. It has been alledg'd, That the Imperial Court will make no Difficulty to renounce Spain and the Indies, provided the Dominions in Italy and in the Netherlands be given them: But upon this, 'tis but Just to hear the Mind of the new Emperor, who, 'tis known, has entirely at Heart the Affairs of Spain.

'Tis easie to see the pernicious Consequences which there would be Ground to apprehend, if Spain and the Indies were left to the Duke of Anjou. Her Majesty herself has delivered her own Opinion clearly upon it, in her Speech at the Opening of the very last Session of her Parliament, recommending the War in Spain as that which most particularly concerned the British Nation, who will in no wise find Amends for it by the Trade to the South Sea, with which they are flattered, which Trade if given them in Reality (as may justly be doubted it will not) would however be but precarious, and last no longer than France and Spain should please to permit.

Those two Crowns cannot in that Case be considered otherwise than as one Potentate: All the World knows that 'tis France which governs the Spaniards in their Councils, in their Finances, in their Military Affairs, and even carries on their Commerce with the Indies by her Ships: France has already made herself so much Mistress of all these, that if the Spaniards would reassume their Independance, either after the Peace, or after the Death of the present King of France, 'tis no longer in their Power; nor can any Treaty be of Force sufficient to oblige France effectually to quit these Advantages. Besides, 'tis to be consider'd, That if the Descendants of the Duke of Anjou, or the male Line of the Dauphin his Brother, should sooner or later come to fail, those two Crowns would be absolutely united under one Head: No Treaty, no Renunciation could be strong enough to hinder that Union in such a Case, of which the Renunciation made at the Peace of the Pyrenees, and the Treaty of Partition, are, among many other Examples, Evidence sufficient. 'Tis very certain likewise, that the King of France, who notwithstanding the Peace, and his Engagements with King William III. of Glorious Memory, acknowledged in his Life-time another for King of England as soon as he thought himself by his Grandson Master of Spain, will no sooner see this Grandson of his settled on that Throne, but he will endeavour also to place his Creature upon that of Great Britain, and will accomplish it, having augmented his Power with that of Spain, and his Riches by those of the Indies. 'Tis easie to foresee the Danger the Queen's Person would then be in, and what would become then of the Liberty of Great Britain, under a Master Educated in the Maxims of France, and in hatred to the best Englishmen, who have abjur'd him according to Law: There would then in Consequence be an End of the Liberty of all Europe, and of the Protestant Religion, by a League founded in Obligation, Necessity, and Gratitude between three Kings of an opposite Religion, and of so great Power by Sea and Land, under the Direction of that of France. These are Consequences in which his Electoral Highness is too nearly interested and concerned, to look upon them with Indifference.

As to the Barrier in the Spanish Netherlands,

it cannot be said that the Security of the United Provinces only is concerned in it: On the contrary, it is full as much the Concern of Great Britain, which would find it self in no less Danger than the said Republick, if France become Mistress of the Spanish Netherlands. This Truth has at all Times been acknowledged by the English, even in the Reign of Charles II. who notwithstanding his close Engagements with that Crown, would not suffer it to Conquer them. So that the Barrier which excludes that dangerous Enemy from the Netherlands, is the common Interest of the two Maritime Potentates, as well as of the Empire of Germany; and besides, Great Britain has at present in lieu of her Guarantee of that Barrier, a Reciprocal Guarantee for the Protestant Succession.

Whatever be done, and whether the Assembly for Peace be forthwith Opened, or deferred to another Time, that is to say, till France has made more Satisfactory Declarations, his Electoral Highness thinks that it is Absolutely Necessary not to be any Way remiss in the Preparations for the ensuing Campaign; there being no Hope of obtaining good Conditions of Peace, but by getting into a Posture to pursue the War vigorously, and begin the Campaign Early with considerable Forces, seeing France on her part is already making great Preparations for it. 'Tis with regard to this, that his Electoral Highness will not make use of the Permission which Her Majesty has had the Goodness to Grant him in so Friendly a Manner, of taking this Winter some of his Regiments of Dragoons home to his own Country, having resolved to leave them all in the Netherlands: Notwithstanding which, his Electoral Highness will bear the same Acknowledgment to Her Majesty, as if he had actually made use of Her said Permission. 'Tis not to be doubted the Emperor will make much greater Efforts than formerly, and that the States General will furnish what they are oblig'd to by the Treaties; His Imperial Majesty being ready to concert new Agreements thereupon with her Britannick Majesty. But above all, it will be essentially necessary to avoid the Snare of a Cessation of Arms, which 'tis very probable France will propose as soon as the Assembly for Peace shall be Opened; which Cessation keeping the Maritime Potentates in the Necessity of making the same Efforts, and the same Expence for the War, for maintaining the same Fleets and the same Armies, will deprive them of the Means of making use of them, and stop the Progress of their Glorious Arms.

There is Ground to hope, that by remaining firmly united, the Allies may soon oblige France (with the Blessing of God) to agree to reasonable Conditions; the extream Indigence that Crown is in, and the Need she has of Peace, being very certain, and confirm'd from all Parts. The Almighty has blessed the Arms of the Queen and of her Allies, with so many Triumphs over their powerful Enemy, to the End they may secure themselves by a safe and advantageous Peace from all they have to fear from him; and it cannot be his Pleasure, that an Enemy so exhausted and vanquished, as he has been on all Occasions, should at last carry his Designs by this War, and get out of it by a Peace Glorious to him, to the Ruin of the Victorious Allies, and to the Destruction of the Liberty of all Europe; in acquiring by this Peace the Power of giving a King to Spain, of imposing one upon Great Britain, and making the Validity of the Election of the Head of the Empire depend on his Approbation.

Done at London the 28th of November, O. S.
9th of December, N. S. 1711.

The Baron de Bothmar.